

THE NETWORK

The National Network of Grantmakers

Fall 1985



Vol. III, No. III

THE PEACE MOVEMENT LOOKS AT RACISM

by Meg Gage

Racism is a dark force which has dominated our country's history from the beginning. Modern progressive movements are not exempt from its destructive influence, despite our great improvement in racial tolerance over the past decades. Most activists working for nuclear disarmament are white; many of the activists working on issues of social justice are people of color. Though often they may feel a distant sympathy for each other's cause, still the races have not forgotten our bitter history and often eye each other across the color lines with suspicion.

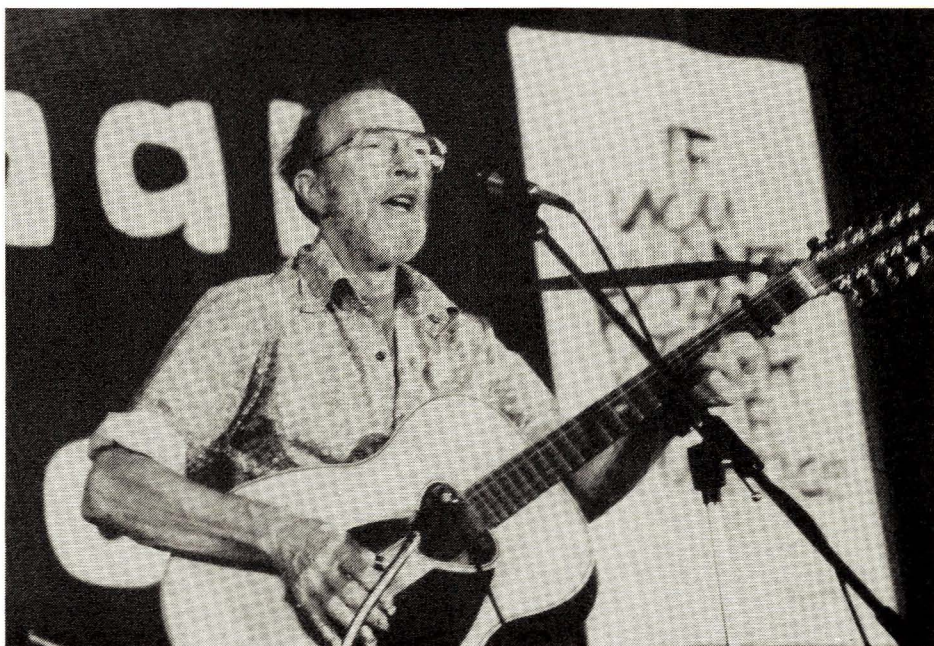
Even if we were to bury racism as a force among us, we would still have to contend with classism, ageism, and sexism, all of which work to divide progressive activists in gross and subtle ways. The attitudes and styles of communication and action expressed by one group may alienate people from another group, for whom these ways are out of synch. For example, a bureaucratic structure and method may put off one group, while others, used to that style might feel confused or impatient if it were missing.

The daunting size and complexity of the issues are also enough to hinder coalition-building among groups working in different causes. The global arms race, destruction of the earth's environment, the problem of housing, or jobs, or hunger, or medical care, or transportation: each is vast enough to keep an advocacy group frantically busy, without time or energy to take on yet another issue or problem.

Because our society and its problems have grown so vast and complicated, groups that do attempt to address more than one issue can become too diffuse and may lose the ability to develop clear strategies and politically effective, incisive programs. Multiple focus sometimes leads to confusion about purpose and goals.

All of this may be discouraging news, but there is a workable solution. Clearer thinking and more open hearts can help us to forge the solidarity we need be-

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Pete Seeger at CHD Anniversary. Photo by Al Stephenson

CHD CELEBRATES 15th ANNIVERSARY

by Doug Lawson

From August 11 until August 14, 1985, about 1,400 People from 47 states gathered at St. John's University in Minnesota to help the Campaign for Human Development celebrate its 15th Anniversary.

From the opening parade of states to the closing ceremony by Mr. Porky White, Pipe Bearer of the Leech Lake Reservation, the celebration was filled with over 80 workshops, plenary sessions, regional meetings and good times. Small group discussions such as "A Funders' Perspective on Community Organizing" conducted by Cynthia Guyer of the Youth Project, Herb White of the United Church of Christ and George Todd of the Wieboldt Foundation, and training workshops such as "Effective Grassroots Fundraising", given twice by Kathy King of the Agape Foundation were very well received and provoked stimulating dialogue.

Large group presentations included such topics as "Fundraising in a World of Shrinking Resources" by Pablo Eisenberg, Center for Community Change, Michael

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Report from the Co-Covenantors

by James Browne and Patricia Hewitt

The Management Committee, which was elected at last year's annual meeting at Asilomar, has had a hectic but rewarding year. Almost all of us were new to the Management Committee, and immediately found ourselves tackling both policy and procedural issues for which we felt ill prepared to deal. All members of the Committee have worked diligently, however, and have benefitted greatly from the ongoing input of many NNG members.

Structurally, perhaps our most important step this year has been to set the wheels in motion for NNG to have its own tax-exempt status as a public charity. Up until now, NNG has been a project of the Youth Project, with no independent legal standing. While this arrangement has been perfectly satisfactory, the Management Committee believes that NNG is now sufficiently stable and "mature" to have its own exempt status. We have retained the services of Gail Harmon, a Washington D.C. attorney with many non-profit clients, and she assures us that we should have no pro-

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THE NETWORK

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IN MEMORIAM

Daniel Bomberly, a Cayuga Indian who, as founder and director of the Seventh Generation Fund, was a national leader among Indian activists seeking economic and political sovereignty rights, died of cancer August 16th in San Francisco. He was 40 years old.

Born in Vancouver, British Columbia, Daniel lived in Forestville, California with his wife, Victoria, and their children. In 1977 he left his position as Director of the Native American Studies Department at Sonoma State University to begin the Tribal Sovereignty Program, which was a project of the Youth Project until it's emergence this year as the Seventh Generation Fund.

The Seventh Generation Fund, now being directed by Dagmar Thorpe, was named for the six nations principle by which all decisions should take into consideration

the impact on the next seven generations. It is the only foundation operating exclusively to provide technical and financial support to grassroots organizing in Native American Communities.

Three months prior to his death Daniel was the recipient of a Tides Foundation award given to "honor and recognize the outstanding career contribution of an individual to positive social change in the country...at the highest level of personal integrity."

In addition to his wife, Victoria, Daniel is survived by five children: Deskaheh 13, Sara 7, Ben 5, Willy 3, and Dane 20 months, his parents, and one sister.

Any donations in memorium should be sent to further the work of the Seventh Generation Fund, P.O. Box 10, Forestville, CA, 95436.

KUDOS TO NNG MEMBERS

Rev. Al LoPinto to new Executive Director of the Campaign for Human Development;

Don Hazen on his new position as publisher of Mother Jones Magazine;

Don Ross, the new Executive Director of the Rockefeller Family Fund;

Cynthia Guyer of the Youth Project on her marriage on September 8th.

And to Deborah Tucker on finally taking a vacation!

Vinnie McGee, The new Executive Director of the Aaron Diamond Foundation;

Andrea Kydd, the new Executive Director of the Youth Project;

Geri Larkin, formerly with the Charles

Stewart Mott Foundation, on her new job in the Entrepreneurial Services of the State of Michigan;

Jill Shellow, author of the new Grant-seekers Guide, on her new position as Director of Issues Development at People for the American Way.

At its June 28 meeting, the Board of Directors of Public Welfare Foundation of Washington, D.C. accepted the letter of resignation of Davis Haines as president and chief executive officer effective July 1. It names C. Glenn Ihrig, executive director of the foundation, as chief executive officer.

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blem qualifying as a 501(c)(3) public charity.

At the same time, the Management Committee has also decided to maintain the volunteer, non-staffed status of NNG. From the beginning NNG organizers were wary of creating yet one more organization of funders which would compete with its own grantees for funds. They also believed, that NNG members would be encouraged to take a more active role in the organization if there was no staff to fall back on. Most fortunately, of course, we still continue to contract with Janet Corrigan for part of her time, and are all agreed that NNG would not be functioning without her efficient and cheerful participation.

Another early decision by the current Management Committee was to add

another position to the Committee. This position, which has the ambiguous title of Liason, was created in order to establish an effective and ongoing relationship with the so-called affinity groups, some of which have grown out of NNG and some of which have independent origins. Carmen Ashhurst, the Executive Director of the Film Fund, was appointed to this post, and we believe she has done an outstanding job of providing a regular two-way communication between the Management Committee and representatives of the affinity groups. One concrete example of her efforts are what appear to be greatly improved coordination among the various groups planning sessions at the time of the annual conference at Kanuga.

NNG's Membership Committee, which has been chaired by Lisa Goldberg and

Geri Larkin, had the awesome task this year of updating membership records and developing new written materials. A mailing was done this winter to those who had not renewed their membership at the time of the annual meeting, and we had a very good response. NNG currently has about 300 dues-paying members, several of whom are in the "sustaining" category. Lisa Goldberg also took on the thankless task of preparing a much-needed NNG brochure, and we are most appreciative for her outstanding efforts in producing something which we hope can be used for several years to come. The Membership Committee continues to prospect for additional NNG members, although we all agreed that the goal should not be adding great numbers of people but instead identifying those grant-makers who share similar goals with current NNG members.

One of the other policy issues which the Management committee has addressed this year was the process of nominating and electing a new Management Committee. In order to avoid the almost total turnover of last year's Committee, we have suggested a procedure by which one-half of the Committee rotates off in any given year, while the other half remains until the following year. We have also appointed a Nominations Committee, co-

chaired by Carmen Ashhurst and Susan Kinoy, which is working to ensure that all interested NNG members have had a chance to participate in the selection of the slate to be presented at the Kanuga Conference.

We have recognized the work of some of the committee chairs, and would like to cite the other members of the Committee as well. Prentice Bowsher and Susan Kinoy did an outstanding job of planning and coordinating the NNG activities at the time of the Council on Foundations annual meeting in Washington, D.C. The session on organizing issues drew an overflow crowd, and the protest activities against apartheid were joined by many non-NNG members. Similarly, Hildy Simmons and Midge Taylor have been working tirelessly to plan this year's annual conference, a task which is truly a full-time job but which they have taken on in the midst of already overcrowded work schedules. Doug Lawson and Deborah Tuck have borne the responsibility for publishing this newsletter, whose quality and content we believe continues to improve. All of us who have missed deadlines can attest to the great patience and good humor which Deborah and Doug have brought to their assignment. Finally, we would be greatly remiss in not mentioning Judy Donald, the Chair and

sole member of NNG's Finance Committee. Judy pays all the bills for NNG and monitors the budget. It is in no small part due to her conscientious efforts that we can report to you that NNG's financial situation is currently relatively healthy.

While our primary concern this year has been to improve and solidify the functioning of NNG, we have continued to keep one eye on NNG's role vis a vis the larger philanthropic community. As indicated, we believe that our efforts to galvanize that larger community in joining the growing cries against the apartheid system in South Africa were relatively successful, and there are indications that there will be continuing developments in this regard. Moreover, as part of our responsibilities, we have represented NNG in a number of grantmaking forums during the past year. Even we were surprised, however, when an op-ed article in *The Wall Street Journal* in June on behalf of the conservative Capital Research Center included NNG as one of four key players to watch "in the game of corporate giving?" (Along with the Council on Foundations, Independent Sector and corporate public-relations departments). We must be doing something right!

MY SUMMER VACATION

by June Makela, Executive Director,
Funding Exchange

At the end of July I traveled to the Philippines with Marty Teitel of C.S. Fund, Beth Rosales of Vanguard public Foundation and Craig Shimabukuro of AFSC. We went there to develop a greater working knowledge about the social movements and political reality that have a broad, increasingly radical and very much authentic nationalistic opposition movement to the Marcos dictatorship and U.S. military presence in that country. I wasn't relaxing nor did it resemble a vacation in the least — with one major exception — the phone would *never* ring for me! Two weeks and not a single phone call — think about it the next time you get invited to participate on a funders' trip abroad!

We were hosted by E.P.I.C. — Ecumenical Partnership for International Concerns, a small but extremely hard-working and committed office which coordinates most of the international fact-finding delegations to the Philippines. We quickly dubbed them EPIC Tours. Our itinerary was intensive. In two weeks we visited major elements of the opposition movement in metro

Manila, traveled to the U.S. bases, Clark Air Force and Subic Naval and the Bataan Export Processing Zone where among other things, Barbie dolls are manufactured by underpaid 18, 19 and 20 year old women.

To understand the politics and the economy of the Philippines, one must travel to rural areas outside of the monstrous metro Manila. Although much poorer, the communities we visited outside of Manila were healthier and more accessible. Everywhere people are organized; we visited squatters' colonies that were models of organization and cooperation and included day care and self-government and paramilitary squads. We met trade unionists at the Delmonte plantation in Mindinao, and followed that meeting with a guided tour of the facilities by a proud, company man from the personnel department. We discovered that Delmonte freely uses the deadly paraquat on its harvested fields, spraying workers, their livestock and polluting the land which will be planted a few weeks later with new pineapple plants. Mindinao is also the island where the NPA and the Moslem separatist movement are the strongest. There are many areas, particularly in remote regions on this largest island of the Philippines, where these forces freely operate.

The sugar industry, once a pillar of the Philippines economy, is in collapse.

Negros, our last stop, is an island midway between Mindinao and Manila. It has been severely hit by this crisis. The island grows cane, with the vast majority of the land owned by hacenderos, the traditional wealthy families of the Philippines. We traveled to Negros having heard stories of famine, disappearances of worker organizers and of a progressive and very popular bishop, who has publicly criticized Marcos and had his house mysteriously burned in the last year. We met with the National Association of Sugarcane Workers who described the crisis in real terms; no one had work, many people were hungry, especially women and children, and to obtain a meager rice loan from the government, one needed the landlord's signature on a guarantee. Landlords used this as a weapon to gain concessions from the farm workers on their land. We visited several haciendas, two of which had over the years struggled to obtain some land from the landlord and were growing vegetables communally. They were warm and generous with us, offering coffee when they literally had no food. We met women and old people; there were rarely any men around since there was little work. Many of the men have also joined the NPA in the nearby hills.

The NPA is in the hills everywhere — they are active in 59 of provinces 73
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NAIROBI CONFERENCE FOR WOMEN

by Kate McQueen

The UN Decade for Women culminated in the World Women's Conference in July 1985 with 15,000 - 20,000 people converging on Nairobi, Kenya, from all over the world. Although the western press emphasized the official UN meeting with its controversies and conflicts between governmental delegations, the work of information-sharing, networking, and strategy-building among feminists globally took place at the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Forum '85, which preceded the official conference. Many thousands of women, representing non-profit organizations or self-help projects or simply themselves, spent 10 days on the campus of the University of Nairobi — attending some of the hundreds of workshops scheduled each day, viewing a myriad of international films by women, discussing every possible issue in impromptu gatherings on the campus lawn, and waiting in lines for everything.

Because there were more than twice as many delegates as expected at the NGO Forum, chaos reigned. Overcrowding affected every aspect of life during the Forum — from hotel accommodation foul-ups to limited restaurant space to scarce restrooms. But the work of Forum '85 proceeded; every conceivable issue of interest to women and feminism was dis-

cussed: from "women's issues" such as rape, abortion, and domestic violence to peace and national liberation movements to funding for economic development projects. Through the theme of the NGO Forum — Equality, Development, and Peace — women from everywhere had plenty to discuss and share.

A number of issues — some familiar and some very new to western feminists — permeated the Forum. Reproductive rights and women's health issues were hot topics, with pro-choice advocates — especially from the Third World — demanding an end to the paternalistic attitudes of anti-abortion and anti-family planning forces who are trying to "save" them from being influenced by Western ideas. The fact that Third World development projects — from water and electrification projects to cooperatives and appropriate technology training — are women's issues was made very clear throughout the conference. When government aid or foundation dollars are cut or are not forthcoming, women and children are primarily and directly affected. Therefore, the questions of how to make funds and skills available directly to women in developing nations were addressed. And the role of feminists in democratic/national liberation struggles was an issue often discussed; many women spoke of the difficulties of forming alliances with other progressive movements while ensuring that gender issues not be put off until "after the revolution."

Perhaps the most controversial presence at Forum '85 was that of the International Lesbian Information Service (ILIS), a loose

-knit organization of lesbians set up to facilitate the international exchange of information and coordination of political action. For months before the conference, rumors had spread that lesbians would not be welcome at Forum '85 and that they would be expelled from Kenya; neither turned out to be the case. ILIS came to Nairobi with brochures and information which was shared in a non-confrontational, educational forum. Everyday, large groups of delegates gathered on the campus lawn to talk with the many openly-lesbian participants who volunteered to talk about their lives and issues. Because there is no word or concept for lesbianism in Swahili, hundreds of east Africans stopped by to ask questions and learn from these women. Although most Kenyans who came to speak with women in the ILIS discussions were certain that no lesbians existed in their country, the end of the Forum saw the formation of a new network of Kenyan lesbians, to be funded by Mama Cash Foundation, a women's fund in the Netherlands.

For western, white feminists — who were in the minority at the Nairobi Conference — the value of Forum '85 lay in the recognition of the incredible strength of our diversity. No longer can one group of women (read: white Westerners) define "women's issues" and foreclose discussion on "non-women's issues." It has become clear that feminism means addressing *all* issues that affect the daily lives of women. And for us in the West that translates into incorporating international economic and development issues into our worldviews.

REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM: A CIVIL LIBERTY UNDER ATTACK

by Joellen Lambiotte, Joint Foundation Support

As progressive funders many of us include among our funding priorities the issues of civil liberties, civil rights and women's equity. Presently, the question of reproductive freedom, an area which encompasses all of these priorities, is under increased attack and facing a series of challenges. The most visible challenges are those being used against abortion rights. However, these attacks are just one part of an overall strategy on the part of the Right to restrict access to family planning and to undermine civil liberties such as the right to privacy and freedom of choice.

The most recent attack occurred in July in a brief the federal government submitted to the Supreme Court regarding two cases which are now before the Supreme

Court. The cases regard state laws in Pennsylvania and Illinois that would restrict access to abortion. In its brief the government urged the Court to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 Supreme Court decision, which declared that legalized abortion was a constitutionally guaranteed right. This is the first time in the history of this country that the government has asked the Supreme Court to take away a constitutional right.

Another approach that anti-choice activists have taken to restrict access to abortion is harassment and violence directed at both abortion providers and women seeking abortion. The harassment has significantly increased in 1985. For example, there were approximately 128 reported acts of violence in the first five months of 1985, as compared to a total of 173 such attacks in 1984. The attacks are creating tremendous stress for providers, some of whom are beginning to leave the field, and are increasing the cost of insurance and, consequently, the cost of abortion and other family planning services. Moreover, the harassment is discouraging patients from entering clinics for either abortion or family plan-

ning services.

Anti-choice activists have also been very successful in their attempts to cut off public funds for abortion, thus significantly reducing access to abortion for low-income women. As a result of amendments to federal funding bills, Medicaid recipients, federal employees and Native Americans have been denied government funds for abortions.

Restrictions on public funds have also been extended to international family planning programs. The Reagan Administration has instituted a new policy discontinuing AID funds to family planning programs which use private funds to "perform or actively promote" abortion. The policy makes the receipt of government funds conditional on the use of private funds, a situation that we as funders need to be very concerned about.

Funding restrictions by individual states have left only 16 states which permit the use of state funds for abortions. This number could be further reduced in 1986 as anti-choice groups have targeted several states including Arkansas, California and Massachusetts where they hope to introduce referenda to prevent state

funding for abortion. The impact of these referenda are not limited to a particular state or to the issue of abortion. For example, the referendum in Massachusetts could set a precedent for other states in that it would empower the Massachusetts legislature to outlaw abortion entirely should *Roe v. Wade* ever be overturned, and those that support the referendum in California are using it to attack several liberal California Supreme Court Justices including Rose Bird, who will be seeking reelection.

Another example of far reaching consequences is the attempt by conservatives to use the abortion question to impede the passage of civil rights legislation. Senator Hatch is currently attempting to amend Title VI of the Civil Rights Act to include the fetus as one of the protected groups. In addition, the passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act, which would overturn the Grove City decision, has been delayed because of an amendment to the bill which would prevent the use of student health benefits for abortions.

Pro-choice activists are working to combat these and other challenges at both the national and the state level. They are developing new strategies and broadening the debate to include focusing

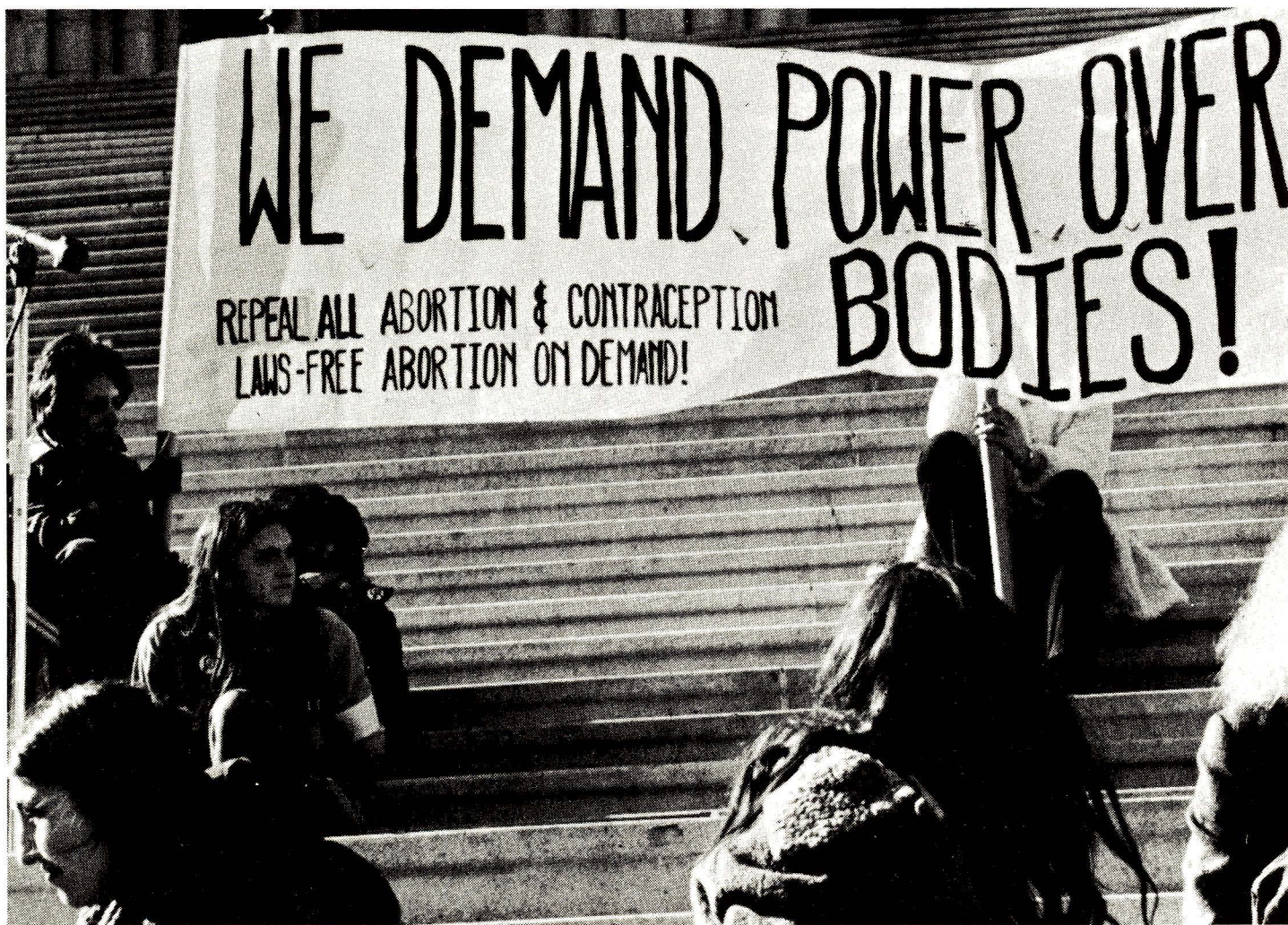
attention on the impact that the loss of reproductive rights would have on women's lives and on conditions which present compelling reasons for a woman to choose an abortion such as economic inequity and the lack of support systems like child care.

In this area, there are certainly many opportunities for us as funders. In 1983, out of the total foundation giving reported to the Foundation Center, only 1.6 percent went toward reproductive health care and the majority of these funds were allocated for research or social services. This breakdown demonstrates the need for more funders to include the issue of reproductive freedom among their funding priorities and within that priority to concentrate on funding advocacy and organizing efforts. And yet, because of the controversial nature of this issue and especially the ongoing debate about the morality of abortion, some progressive funders have been reluctant to support activities to ensure reproductive freedom. What we need to remember, however, is that the attacks on reproductive freedom are not just attacks on abortion, but are part of a deliberate strategy that conservatives have developed to undermine a host of civil

liberties. If we as progressive funders are ambivalent about our support of reproductive freedom and therefore do not acknowledge the larger threat to other civil liberties, we only play into the Right's hands.

The Resource Committee on Reproductive Health Care, which grew out of a funder's briefing on access to family planning services and reproductive rights held in New York City in June, is an effort to provide the funding community with current information regarding new challenges to reproductive rights. The Committee will be distributing information about some of the major challenges to reproductive health care and identifying projects doing work in this area. Members of the Committee are also available to work with other funders to organize regional briefings on the issue. If you would like more information about the Committee or want to be on its mailing list, please contact:

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(212) 289-0006



Early abortion rights speak out.

CAMPAIGNING AGAINST POVERTY

by Tom Blanton & Donna Brazile

The new poverty figures for 1984, released in August by the Census Bureau, were superficially encouraging: The 14.4% poverty rate and the 33.7 million Americans in poverty were both down from 1983 levels. But those welcome declines disguised some continuing bad news: The poverty rate dropped much more slowly than economic growth and employment increased in 1984. The poverty rates for Hispanic children (39%) and young black children (51%) went up in 1984 to record levels. Income inequality among Americans increased dramatically, as the rich got richer and the poor got poorer. Some 4.4 million more Americans were below the miserly and arbitrary poverty threshold than when President Reagan took office.

The superficial good news might serve to push poverty even further down on the national agenda than it already is. Even before the new numbers, various groupings of funders, national constituency and research organizations, and local citizen leaders and organizers had begun talking about potential initiatives around poverty issues. A growing consensus centers around three needs, for (1) greater public awareness and education, (2) a process to develop a progressive national and local policy agenda, and (3) participatory action that people can join.

(1) Most of the headlines after the Census report in August reflected a message of declining concern about poverty because poverty was declining. Not only does this statistical message need countering, it also deserves replacement, with a message of the human faces of poverty (what is it like for a single mother to raise three children on \$28 a day?) and the very real vulnerability of so many Americans. While 1 in 7 Americans is currently defined as poor, the University of Michigan's unique longitudinal survey data show that 1 in 4 Americans lives for at least a year on a poverty-level income in a given decade. And 1 in 3 Americans lives below twice the poverty line. A media campaign around poverty would plumb the public opinion polling data, brainstorm themes and messages, target media outlets, place stories and opinion statements, develop national and local spokespeople, humanize the statistical discussion of poverty, and help create a new national climate for dealing with American poverty.

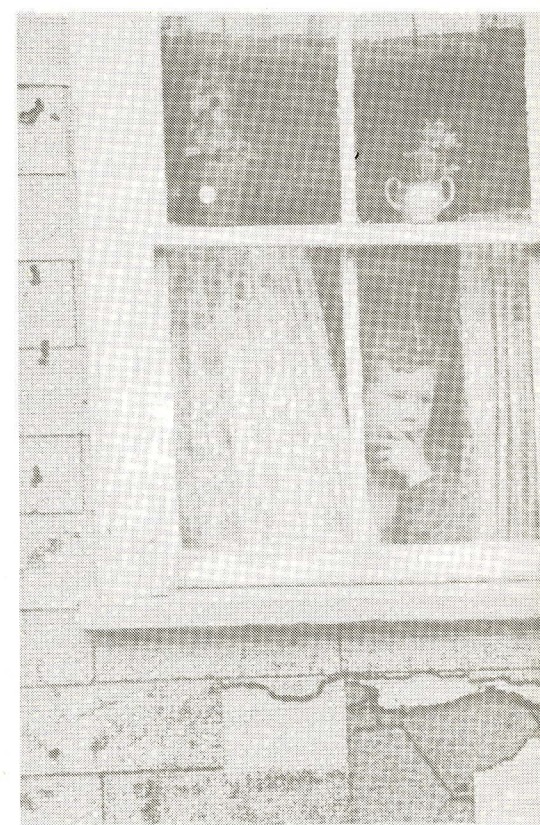
(2) A new climate will be for naught, however, unless a cooperative process is in place to develop an achievable progressive agenda against poverty. And opportunity is knocking. Even conservatives

are now giving up on economic growth as a panacea for poverty (see Michael Novak and Leslie Lenkowsky, *New York Times* Op-ed, 7-24-85). A recent *Los Angeles Times* poll (see *Public Opinion* magazine, June/July 1985) shows that the public at large, while cynical about the effectiveness of government anti-poverty programs, still feels a moral commitment against poverty and wants the government not to give up, especially on jobs and job training programs. Reflecting more of an "investment in the workforce" perspective, *Business Week* (9-2-85) featured as its cover story "ideas that work" to lower minority unemployment and poverty. Robert Greenstein of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities says that "new ideas are percolating for dealing with poverty; we'll have a real marketing job over the next couple of years." Numerous national and local groups have developed detailed anti-poverty agendas, most of them from a single constituency's perspective. A national long-term process needs to be developed in which "new ideas" could be identified, encouraged and packaged for dissemination; the various agendas could be combined and prioritized for focused work; and national and local organizations could launch cooperative campaigns on targeted poverty issues.

(3) Serious public outreach on poverty cannot feature simply media packaging and abstract policy development — it must also engage Americans, particularly low-income people and anti-poverty advocates, in action and participatory gestures both nationally and locally. As the Free South Africa Movement has done with apartheid, we have to raise the embarrassment factor on poverty. The Free South Africa Movement sparked and grew with direct action, against embassies, consulates, Krugerrand traders. In another example, USA For Africa, the participation was more indirect: buying an album, or watching Live-Aid and pledging money by calling an 800-number. Both Thanksgiving and the December holiday season offer clear opportunities for participation going beyond private responsibility for poverty (turkey handouts, Remember the Neediest fundraising, etc.) to public responsibility. Current discussions involve a Thanksgiving Spotlight on Poverty, in which several targeted low income communities would develop local action committees and action agendas, would host national anti-poverty leaders, invite the media and public officials to see poverty conditions firsthand, and hear Americans in poverty speak out for change. The Spotlight could provide a model for continuing national and local action (with each month of 1986 spotlighting a single poverty issue), a theme for packaging progressive policy options, and an on-

going media hook. It may take time, but the Spotlight can become a stoplight.

Tom Blanton works at the Villers Foundation, which funds empowerment and policy projects on low-income aging issues.







CHD Anniversary. Photo by Stephenson

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Seltzer, the New World Foundation, and Audrey Russell, Lutheran Church in America; and "History of Stories of Organizing in the U.S." by Heather Booth of Citizen Action, Msgr. John Egan, Archdiocese of Chicago, Al Raby, Project VOTE!, Wade Rathke of ACORN.

On the second day of the conference, the theme "Values in Action" was covered in concurrent panels focused on the general subject of values, justice education, and community organizing. Each of the panelists commented on the challenges of integrating action with social justice education programs and values into community organizing, the relationship between the two, and practical and personal experiences and philosophies.

In addition, many of the workshops had an issue focus. Among issues discussed were community economic development (six workshops), organizing in minority communities, "Is There Life After (or during) Working for Justice?," principles of Leadership Recruitment and Development, Farm Crisis, Native American Values and Issues in Organizing, and How to do Ef-

fective Voter Registration/Education Campaigns. The "Women and Poverty" workshop was so popular that it was repeated spontaneously.

Because daycare was provided, a number of participants brought their families. During free time films such as *Gandhi*, *Tootsie*, and *Terms of Endearment* were shown. Pete Seeger and the Thunderbird Sisters, from the Shinnecock Tribe on Long Island, provided entertainment, however, most of the energy at the conference came from the exchange of views and practices by the participants.

The celebration also served as an opportunity to say good bye to Father Marvin Mottet and welcome to Father Al LoPinto as the new Executive Director of CHD. Fr. Mottet, after serving seven years as CHD's Director will be returning to Davenport, Iowa, to become rector of the Cathedral. Fr. Al LoPinto comes to CHD after being special assistant for community organizing in the social action office of Catholic Charities for the Diocese of Brooklyn. Neither could think of a better sendoff or welcome.



CHD Anniversary. Photo by Barbara Stephenson

THE JEWISH FUND FOR JUSTICE ANNOUNCES ITS FIRST GRANTS

by Lois Roisman

Thanks to the initial support of many NNG members who understood the importance of a Jewish Foundation to support nonsectarian issues of poverty. The Jewish Fund for Justice made its first round of grants this summer, and joins the ranks of progressive grantmakers. The fund will provide a new stream of support for groups working to change the circumstances that keep people poor in America. Our first grants were modest, from \$2,000 to \$10,000, but have created a great deal of interest in the press and among American Jewry. This response and the interest generated bodes well for the fund's future and its ability to make a significant contribution in the coming years.

The board of the Jewish Fund for Justice deserves a great deal of credit for the initial thirteen grants and for the extraordinary amounts of time they have given to build a stable, responsible institution under the leadership of Si Kahn. Other board members are Ron Pollock, Colin Greer, Rebecca Tomashefsky, Rob Stine, Susan Gross, Rabbi Ben Kahn, Rabbi David Saperstein, Joyce Gutfreund, Larry Levine, Sam Convissor, Frank Goldbert, Pam Fleischaker, Evan Bayer, and Rachel Cowan.

NNG members are familiar with a number of the Fund's first grantees: MACE, FLOC, Women in the Work Force, Minnesota COACT, The Southern California Hunger Coalition, JONAH, The Montana Senior Citizens Association, The Poor People's United Fund in Boston. There may be less familiarity with the Saguache County Community Council in Center, Colorado, a group of 200 low-income Chicano parents who are tenaciously addressing the problems of the poor in their town. Theirs is a continuing struggle to ensure that Chicano children are provided the quality public education necessary to make them productive citizens. JFJ also funded the United Passaic Organization, a group of Blacks, Hispanics, Asians and elderly Jews living in low-income neighborhoods in Passaic, New Jersey and refusing to let their neighborhood decline.

The Philadelphia Jubilee Project received a grant that challenged the Philadelphia Jewish Community to increase its participation. This project was formed by a group of interdenominational leaders, along with Bread and Roses, to create a venture capital revolving loan fund for community based enterprises, creating new jobs and new ownership among low income people. Another challenge grant went to the Jewish Council on Urban Af-



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tween the movement for peace and the movements for social justice.

Clearer thinking means more effective analysis. The arms race and social injustice share the same roots in human greed, paranoia, hatred, and ignorance. Clearly the vast sums spent on weapons, rather than on human needs, and the militarization of our planet intensify oppression of people and other living beings in this country and elsewhere in the world. And, just as clearly, the dynamic of inequality and injustice throughout the United States and the entire earth feeds the fear and aggression which sustains the arms race.

Seeing the common roots of our separate issues can help groups working for social justice and those working for peace to pool our energies into a united front, especially as we move from addressing the more superficial symptoms of the problems to confronting the deeper causes.

More open hearts mean feeling how hunger, poverty, joblessness, homelessness, disease, interventionism, support for brutal regimes, and nuclear war all have suffering as their common denominator. When we recognize that we are all working to relieve suffering, then people of different progressive movements are bonded by compassion as their common denominator, a very powerful bond.

When we know clearly what we share, then it is easier to tolerate our differences. "If you keep telling everyone they are different from each other, we'll never get anywhere," said an Hispanic organizer for a multi-racial peace group. "It's like cake. Everyone knows sugar and eggs are different, but when you mix them together, they make cake."

A good instance of such cake-making was the cooperation of black and white groups in Memphis last year. The local Freeze group circulated petitions for housing sponsored by blacks, and the black group circulated Freeze petitions.

We have found that groups which respond to an immediate, live issue in their own community, not just to a remote ideology, are often able to combine the issues of disarmament and human needs most effectively. Last year a truck overturned at a highway interchange, spilling seventeen live Navy torpedoes, with a combined firepower of 3,800 tons of TNT, into the middle of a low-income neighborhood of inner-city Denver. Environmental groups, minority-led neighborhood groups, and every peace group in Denver forged a very potent coalition which pushed the city to pass a tough, progressive law to regulate transport of hazardous wastes. Solidarity and empowerment are likely to bear more good fruit in other campaigns for social justice and peace in that city.



fairs for its work with minority businesses and community organizations in low income areas.

The project that has created a great deal of interest has been the effort of The Navajo Nation to bring a team of Israeli Agricultural experts to the painted desert to teach Navajo farmers the latest in drip irrigation and intensive crop production programs. This project was initiated by Jacques Seronde working with the Navajo Nation and deserves the support of other NNG members.

The JFJ board has approved a set of

guidelines which will focus the fund's grantmaking on addressing the root causes of poverty. The grants will be nonsectarian, and will follow in the spirit of the Catholic Campaign for Human Development with its focus on helping people help themselves. We believe that this is the best spirit of what it means to be Jewish in America today, and are pleased to join with other grantmakers who share our concerns. Our thanks again to the like-minded spirits in NNG who have helped us make a good beginning.

Evaluating Citizen Participation

by Jeanne Fox

The Funders' Committee for Voter Registration and Education is a voluntary association of individuals, from 16 foundations, who have joined forces to help broaden the base of citizen participation, with special emphasis on the underrepresented — minorities, low income groups, women, and young adults. As one part of its support for citizen participation the Funders' Committee is interested in the evaluation of non-profit, nonpartisan voter registration organization to

In September 1984 the Committee undertook an inquiry among foundations and voter registration organization to determine opinion about evaluation. By means of a telephone survey and a consultation, the Committee found that most funders and grantees participating in the survey were in agreement about the need for an independent objective evaluation. Those surveyed felt that such an evaluation was desirable both because of the extraordinary efforts of local and national voter registration groups and also because of the unprecedented level of funding made available by individual donors and foundations over the past several years. Additionally, the funders surveyed believed that a credible evaluation would pave the way for increased support of voter registration.

Examine, assess, monitor, audit, evaluate — "What's in a word?" asked Ford Foundation's Lynn Walker in a recent conversation about evaluating nonpartisan citizen participation programs. She went on to say that you have to consider what you hope to achieve, who your audience is, and how you will balance breadth with depth. As one form of oversight, the Ford Foundation employs monitors who work directly with voter registration and education organizations, among other things to assure that grantees are in compliance with the U.S. Tax Reform Act. On an ongoing basis Ford monitors talk to board members, staff, and constituent groups, and they assess the organization as a whole including reviewing files and other written materials.

Lynn also said that the Ford Foundation sometimes hires consultants to "survey a field or test the waters" before grants are made in a new program area. Thus strategies, problems, and recommendations can be probed in advance and potential programs can be viewed from the vantage point of environmental receptivity. A related type of assessment, specific to civic participation in one which Lynn and her colleagues, David Arnold and William Diaz have discussed. They think a macro exploration of the entire field would be useful. Such an examination would include 1) a review of activities that have been funded by Ford — technical assistance, research, advocacy, litigation, voter

registration and education directed toward participation by minorities in general and citizenship education targeted on Hispanics in particular; 2) where the opportunities for new and effective future initiatives are; and 3) what is possible.

As an example of evaluative research, Lynn pointed to the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations jointly funded "1984 National Black Election Study," undertaken by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. The purpose of this election survey was to examine the nature of black political participation and to evaluate the appropriateness of current theories about black political participation. The number of black households in the survey, which included pre and post election components, was 1,200 making the study unique in terms of breadth and depth, and permitting disaggregation of the data to study subgroups of blacks, i.e. rural versus urban and registered versus unregistered.

In addition to individual foundation evaluations and assessments by research organizations a number of reviews and evaluations have been undertaken in relation to the 1984 national elections. One of them, entitled "Expanding Voter Participation: An Assessment of 1984 Non-Partisan Voter Registration Efforts," is particularly relevant to this discussion. This evaluation, performed by Interface, a New York consultant firm was commissioned by a group of 23 foundations and some individual donors. Twelve of the largest, national nonpartisan voter registration organizations were examined to determine the effectiveness of the collective voter registration efforts, the cost effectiveness of the effort, and the overall effectiveness of each of the organizations. The assessment was designed around individual case studies because as the report states "there is really a chain of outcomes which must be considered: whether people are registered, whether once registered they actually vote, and if so, how regularly, and finally, how well informed the voter is."

Following is a discussion of major findings which is taken from the Interface report:

In total a great deal of good work was done by the twelve 4945(f) groups. The groups made a significant and demonstrable contribution to increasing citizen participation in the electoral process. Judgments of effectiveness are based on an analysis of the entire fabric of the 12 organizations, which face an unusual set of tough challenges requiring a high degree of organization and sophistication. They must identify capable people and organizations, organize and maintain contacts across a multi-state area, and develop and implement complex monitoring systems. They

are faced with immutable deadlines determined by election and registration laws, and they must manage all this with at least one eye always on their seesawing funding cycle. As with any other endeavor, some organizations operated very effectively and others less so. Most groups fell short of at least some of their goals, not surprisingly since these were formulated before issues and resources were clearly known.

According to the report, one concern, the maximum reasonable cost per new registrant, is potentially counterproductive. First, it is virtually unavoidable that voter registration groups have an inflated view of the number of new registrants for which they are responsible. Second, because groups work in coalitions, the cost of registration per vote is difficult to isolate. Third, voter registration activity encompasses quality as well as quantity. From a qualitative perspective, there is a progression of electoral participation that goes from registration to voting, to voting in off-year as well as Presidential election years, to sustained voting, and to casting a well-informed vote. Also there is substantial evidence indicating that different factors significantly affect the ease or difficulty of registration (e.g. geographic factors, education levels, local laws, ethnicity). For example, registering voters in rural areas is entirely different from site registration in cities.

The report recommends that greater emphasis be placed on campaigns conducted in the context of local elections, and methods which allow opportunities for instruction or discussion. The 4945(f)s should work to sustain contacts with local coalitions and individual groups between elections, through leadership development activities, assistance in issue organizing, and other activities.

The extent of cooperation and collaboration among nonpartisan groups was very high. Indeed nearly every 4945(f) in one way or another encouraged the development of local coalitions. Conflicts, while not uncommon, were not the rule. By and large, groups which conflicted over style, methods, or other issues found ways to divide the turf and stay out of each other's way. However, despite the high level of cooperation, there is a concern about increasing competition in the future. The concern stems in part from the attention given to numbers of registrants (and by extension to cost per vote) with which this assessment has unwillingly concluded.

Financial planning and management for 4945(f) organizations presents a greater than normal challenge, not just because of the funding peaks and valleys connected to national versus off-year elections, but also because funding levels are so unpredictable. While it is true that few organiza-

tions have mastered the art of budget projecting, certainly 4945(f)s operate in a marginally more difficult environment. Because of the groundswell of funder interest in 1984, for example, the revenues of seven groups exceeded projected budgets. At the other extreme, one 4945(f) secured only half the money it needed.

Even surpassing one's budget is a mixed blessing if an adequate budget level thereafter is not sustained. And now, partly because of this assessment, which has prompted many funders to postpone further grant decisions, most of the 4945(f)s are faced with extremely difficult financial circumstances.

In 1984, 4945(f)s sponsored projects in nearly 1,100 local sites in 43 of the 50 states with an average of less than \$3,700 per project. Funders are urged to consider long term commitments of sustained funding to 4945(f)s which have demonstrated a seriousness of purpose and a record of performance and which carry out a year-round agenda of voter registration related activities.

These then are some highlights of the Interface evaluation report. Other recently evaluative research which is representative of that performed in relation to the 1984 national election:

1) In January 1984, the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate commissioned Peter Hart Research Associates to conduct a national survey of new registrants. The purpose of the research was to examine voter behavior and registration trends.

2) The Women's Vote Analysis is a project recently organized to assess attitudes and political mobilization among women during 1984. This effort is using the data collected by other projects in their assessments of voter behavior and is segregating data about women.

3) The Churches Committee for Voter Registration and Education, a national organization, commissioned the In-

stitute for Social Science Research at Brockport, New York to assess the impact of their voter registration efforts. The analysis examines the universe of people registered by the Churches Committee as well as voter motivation.

The Funders' Committee for Voter Registration and Education commends all of the efforts described in this article, which are directed at defining the electorate, examining voter behavior, attitudes and motivation; and assessing the impact of nonpartisan citizen participation programs. Only such evaluative efforts will provide members of the nonpartisan citizen participation community - the information they need, in the words of Lynn Walker, to support quality voter registration and education services, to identify and develop strategies to remedy systemic legal and administrative barriers to registration, and to empower members of the target group through support for capacity building processes.

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with a highly organized force of 20,000 - 24,000 combatants who have the support in some form of 10 million people (20 % of the country's population). These are, by the way, figures that the NPA and the CIA agree on!

It was clear to all of us that the opposition is strong, widespread and growing. The repression grows in proportion, however. Human rights violations including disappearance, assassination, torture and threats are directed at labor leaders, priests (an Italian missionary was gunned down in broad daylight in Mindinao last year and another, Rudy Romano has disappeared and believed to be in the hands of military intelligence units), peasants, student leaders, and lawyers. We spent a few hours with Sister Mariani, well-known human rights advocate who has traveled extensively around the world to raise the issue of Philippine human and democratic rights, provides sanctuary in the convent she runs for students fleeing military attacks during demonstrations and provides a fierce spiritual leadership for a catholic church which to a greater degree than in any other country, has become an active participant in the opposition movement.

Everyone we met referred to the U.S. role in perpetuating the Marcos dictatorship. Filipinos experience U.S. "intervention" in their country on many fronts. Economically, they are a U.S. colony, most of their trade is with the U.S., their land is owned or leased by large U.S. companies. They work for Mattel, Delmonte, Coca Cola, etc. They eat in Mister Donuts, Pizza Hut, Kentucky Fried Chicken; they buy U.S. make-up,

listen to American music, watch American shows on their televisions, drink Coca Cola. (The red and white signs advertising the drink are so omnipresent that even I started to anxiously await the next bottle!) Militarily, there are two U.S. bases on their land; both are the largest bases outside of the continental U.S. Clark Air Force Base covers 100 square miles and with a population of 43,000 is a mini American city complete with segregated neighborhoods, its own schools, hospitals, restaurants and police department. But the sign says it is a Philippine base. Subic Naval Base is home to the Seventh Fleet and is the base for most of U.S. naval operations in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. It is known to be a nuclear base although not acknowledged by the U.S. government. The adjoining towns to the bases, Angeles and Olongapo are landmarks of sleaze and national degradation. In a country where women are never seen in bathing suits, Filipino girls dance on bar tops in skimpy bikinis and sell themselves on the streets, literally begging the U.S. soldiers to go with them. Shops sell t-shirts picturing "Ron"bo killing commies in Central America and calling for the annihilation of Lebanon. The Filipinos hate these bases and what they foster; the U.S. government considers them its most strategic installations in the world. The confrontation seems inevitable.

We traveled to the Philippines to understand the current situation, the U.S. role, the militarization of the Pacific and what we as private funders could do. I was struck by the parallels between the Philippines and Nicaragua before the fall

of Somoza. Marcos is an isolated, corrupt dictator who has alienated even the traditional wealthy ruling class of his country and is propped up by misguided U.S. aid. The U.S. supports almost his entire military budget, except for personnel costs. Every gun, every computer, all the training, etc. is provided by millions of dollars in U.S. appropriations each year.

Opportunities to prevent a disastrous U.S. intervention are still available but seem to diminish daily. Funders can play a timely and critical role in encouraging the debate on U.S. support for Marcos, promoting educational materials on the democratic movement in the country and encouraging more American fact finding tours to the Philippines.

I conclude with two important projects that can begin to break down the wall of disinformation on the Filipino situation and foster dialogue and peace.

Philippine Resource Center, founded in mid-1984, provides objective up-to-date information on the popular movements in the Philippines, analytical articles on U.S./Filipino relations and distributes an excellent monthly newsletter *Philippine Report* to Congressional people, the media and concerned national and local groups throughout the country.

Ecumenical Partnership for International Concerns is based in Manila and coordinates the itineraries for international fact-finding tours to the Philippines. In the last year they have hosted Japanese parliamentarians, Oxfam America, U.S. church leaders, journalists and European peace activists. They are underfunded and should be encouraged to host more U.S. groups.

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